The World Outlook On Social Transformation

World Unity

THIS MONTH

The Time Element—*Editorial*
Toward a Science of Society—*Harding*
Salvador de Madariaga—*Wolseley*
A New Epoch of Civilization—*Hinner*
Man's Search for Happiness—*Woodward*

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nterpreting
the spirit of the new age

New Prospects in World Politics—*Kohn*
Spiritual Education—*H. I. H. Alexander*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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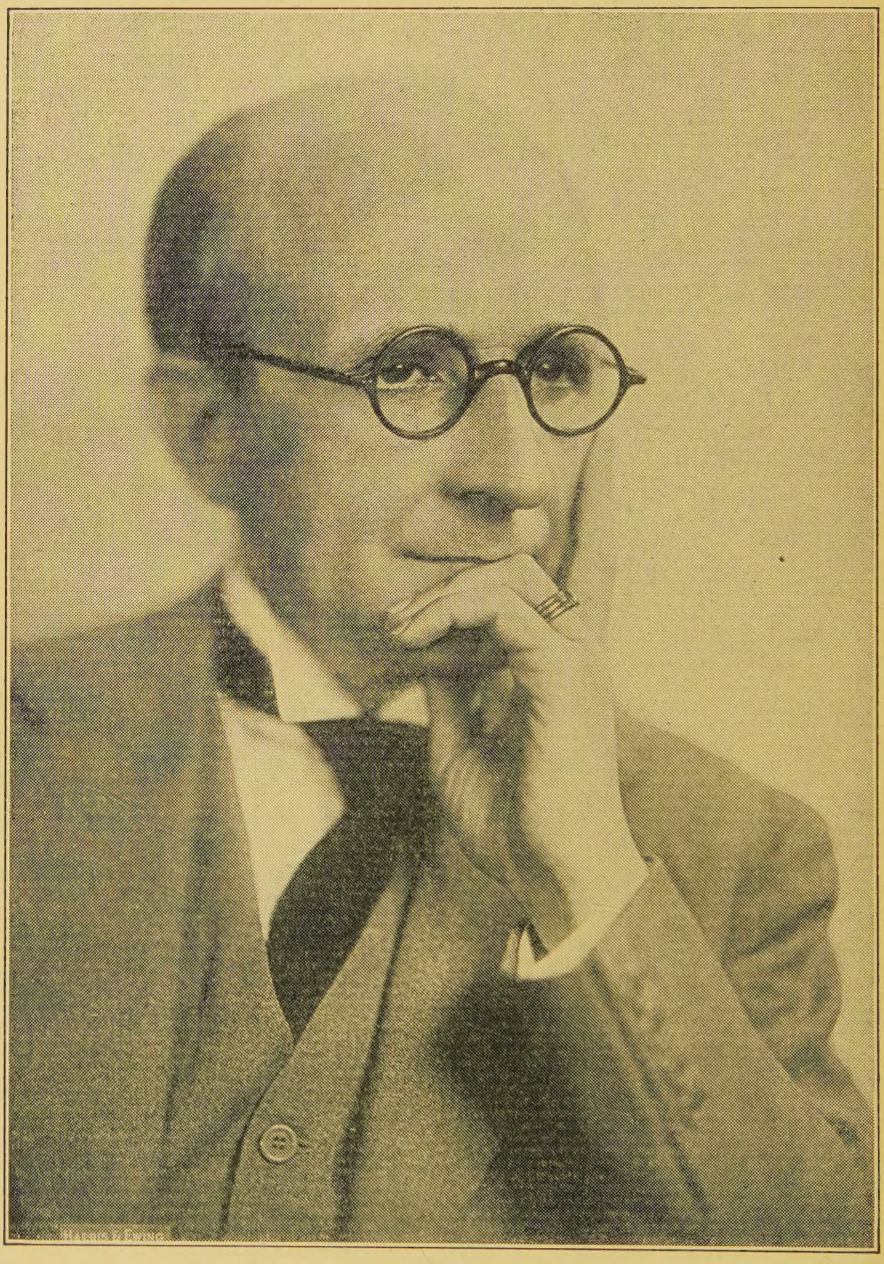

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA
Apostle of World Unity

THE TIME ELEMENT

EDITORIAL

ONE of the most heartening things that has taken place in the last month was Senator Borah's radio address on reparations and war debts, in which he urged the calling of an international economic conference which would frankly discuss the revision or cancellation of war debts, reparations and disarmament. It is evident that this address is the first move in an extended drive to mass public opinion behind such a meeting of the world's nations. It is all the more reassuring because it apparently represents a reversal of attitude on Senator Borah's former position on the war debts.

In Europe the good effect of the Lausanne agreement had largely been nullified by the reaction of official Washington against any remittance of war debts. This radio address will reassure Europe, at least to the extent of knowing that the Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relation Committee is at last thinking in realistic economic terms, and not in terms of a narrow nationalism.

It would be interesting to know to what extent the Republican administration is in sympathy with this latest move of Senator Borah's. The fact that the Republican Platform adopted at Chicago maintained a discreet silence on the question of war debt, the known fact that Premier Laval on his visit to Washington last year gained the distinct impression that if Europe settled the reparations problem then the United States would be ready to reconsider the question of allied debts, several statements reported as coming from the Department of State to the same effect, and now Senator Borah's outspoken address—all these would indicate a disposition on the

part of the Administration to reopen the whole war debt problem. At present writing it is intimated that President Hoover in his speech of Acceptance of the nomination will recommend some such international conference as Senator Borah has urged.

It is a great pity that preliminary steps cannot be taken at once, but in all probability nothing will be done until after the November elections and Europe seems to have settled down to further waiting for the United States to take action on this matter. It is thus that political expediency delays the demand made by economic realities.

With the signs, that perhaps the tide is beginning to turn, chiefly evidenced as yet by a wave of optimism of which the papers are making the most, it is easy to imagine the psychological effect upon Europe if the United States should in a frank and large-hearted spirit take the lead in calling such an international conference as the Senator is urging. It is safe to say that no other single action on the part of this country just now would be more beneficial to economic conditions than this.

But as Senator Borah realizes, it will take a lot of education and perhaps still greater depths of depression, before the majority of American citizens are willing to accept the economic realities that confront the nations of the world.

As the London *Economist* wisely remarks, the time element is everything. "We do not despair of the future, but there is one disquieting factor in the situation: the time factor is terribly against the world in the race between the realization of sound policies and disaster. In fact, the crux of the situation today is how long it will take before the pressure of the small section of informed and balanced opinion that exists in every country can make itself effectively felt. Never more than today has there been a vital need for such opinion to be made vocal and insistent."

All power to Senator Borah in this particular campaign of education upon which he has entered!

J.H.R.

TOWARD A SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

by

T. SWANN HARDING
Author of "The Degradation of Science," etc.

THE human race progresses, or so it is said. The works of Archimedes give us almost our only clue to the astounding intellectual grasp of a Greek of Samos, Aristarchus by name. He is famous as having been the first recorded scientific observer to maintain that the earth moves around the sun. For his impiety he was accused by the Stoic Cleanthes and severely condemned. Considering the imperfection of the instrumental means at his command his estimates of relative solar and lunar distances from the earth were impressive, and his methods were geometrically correct. Aristarchus flourished about 250 B.C. In 1931 A.D. a Maryland farmer endeavored to convince me that the earth stood still, that the sun passed regularly over it every twenty-four hours, appearing and disappearing through the windows of heaven, and that it was as flat as a pancake. So eloquent and persuasive was he, and so pliable to suggestion am I, that but for an approaching thunderstorm he would almost certainly have succeeded. It is also perhaps significant that this farmer votes regularly on public policies. As I do not I felt too abashed to contradict him flatly. This juxtaposition of facts not only explains why American farmers are so impecunious; it also raises the question whether it would be advantageous, for us to adopt a more modernized social technic than we utilize today.

Some 2,000 years after Aristarchus was gathered to his fathers the following words could be written with quite as much truth as vehemence about a popular and powerful leader of the American people who, among other things, probably rather doubted the accur-

acy of the observation made by Aristarchus as much as Cleanthes did:

He was a brilliant leader of men, holding millions in almost devout allegiance for years at a stretch. He had charm, persuasiveness, immense energy, genuine love of folks, a marvelous stage manner, and many other potent traits, not the least of which was a serene temper and a willingness to forgive his enemies. Had he been endowed with the intelligence of a superior college freshman in any good university, he would have dominated America as a benevolent despot for twenty years at least. Had he possessed the mind of Lenin, he might have won the entire world during his own lifetime. But, alas for us and for himself, his brain was a mess. He had the mind of a street hawker. Throughout his entire career he never faced and analyzed a single important social situation with the objectivity and skill of a high school boy. And, like other inferior minds, he was hag-ridden with his own infancy; things he had been taught while in short trousers became sacred and immune to criticism. His Fundamentalism was baby talk. So, in spite of his marvelous traits of leadership, he led his followers into labyrinths of lunacy—and left them there triumphant. A Peerless Leader who seldom peered into facts. . . · He exemplified, in highly accentuated form, an all too common linkage of splendid leadership with feeble mentality. He also illustrates one of the most dangerous peculiarities of the type in his sincere belief that his command of facts equalled his command of folks.

Or consider a more notable intellect as an American leader, that possessed by Roosevelt. As portrayed by his friend and admirer, Oscar King Davis, this man picked up his ideas anywhere; if they "clicked" he used them. Newspaper men and advisers of lesser calibre told him what to say, got facts for him, told him when he repeated himself, steered him into new policies. His idea about the recall of Supreme Court decisions he stole from a college professor and expressed so unintelligently that it made a bad impression; LaFollette, who also claimed to father this idea, did not originate it either. When Roosevelt was told that large families were insoluble economic problems to fathers on low salaries who were

not in his own superior financial position, he declared he had never thought of that, in spite of the fact that he had preached big families for years. He read everything and derived as much apparent enjoyment from variest trash as from the most profound book. A railroad brakeman could completely change his ideas for a speech, and for all his indomitable will, he could not always get his desires —as vide his campaign against Wilson and his yearning to go to France. He and all of his Progressive "strategists" completely forgot that, even if they elected him President, they would accomplish nothing unless they had a large delegation in Congress, and no effort was made to elect a Progressive House of Representatives. As an "expert" he ranked with those Murdock faced in Congress when he arose intransigently and asked why boracic acid bore the import duty it did, and there was no reply—because none of his hearers really knew what the stuff was.

Nothing could more aptly illustrate how retarded is the application to social problems of that small but important body of precise, verifiable knowledge—an oasis of factual guidance and exactitude in a chaos of ignorance and conjecture—which we call science. Addressing the Royal Society of Arts on April 9, 1930, Prof. F. A. E. Crew stated that the lag between demonstrated scientific fact and its incorporation into practice was usually from twenty to fifty years. He seemed to speak with undue optimism. He was suggesting the use of sound genetical methods, as a scientific foundation, by British livestock breeders in lieu the methods of traditional wisdom which, there as here, have been rather too little considered in the light of new scientific knowledge.

It is thus the custom of British pig breeders to sell the quickest growing sows and to keep the slowest for further breeding. This was done because scientific knowledge had not percolated into the tradition-bound minds of the breeders. The economical conversion of food into pig is an inherited character and, therefore, the quickest growers are the most economical feeders and should be kept for further breeding. This false technic of the breeders was being carried on in a period of deep financial depression when it was highly important to give serious consideration to any factors that

might accelerate recovery. Similarly British agricultural shows were laying emphasis upon the wrong points and giving entirely too much weight to pedigree and too little to such economically important factors as milk records, bacon quality, pulling power, egg and fertility records. So today in America production records are kept on but 2½ per cent of our dairy cattle, while Denmark keeps records on 31.3 per cent of hers; here the average production of milk per cow is 4,600 pounds annually, while in Denmark it is 6,698 pounds annually—their average cow producing 41.6 per cent more milk than ours. In Friesland and in the Netherlands where scientific guidance is utilized with exceptional efficiency the average milk production per cow per year is actually 9,632 pounds.

Speaking in late 1929 General Smuts emphasized the patent necessity for more science in governmental administration. He suggested close and attentive examination of the bodies in control of administrative, governmental, commercial, and industrial undertakings. He agreed that failure in the past to employ, at least to a sufficient extent, men of science and technologists in the directive and administrative spheres, may have been due very largely to the reluctance of these types of men to undertake the work required, and to their lack of agressiveness in seeking positions of public trust. Smuts held it imperative that such reluctance and passivity be overcome by men of science, because they are needed worse than ever today to take social responsibility, to mix in the affairs of men, and to know something of the affairs of nations.

The words of General Smuts have close relevance to the situation in this country. An anthropologist recently discussed the relationship subsisting between science and our administration of Indian affairs. He remarked that the Bureau of American Ethnology had been in existence for forty-three years, charged with the collection of data concerning the surviving Indians in various parts of the country. At the same time university departments of anthropology have been turning out highly trained men who have devoted years of intensive study to the American Indian—his physical type, susceptibility to disease, effects of race crossing, the development of these diverse cultures, and so forth. The Bureau mentioned above

has alone issued one hundred eighty monographs and bulletins dealing with the American Indian and his culture, and publications from other institutions double the number. With such a mine of information at its disposal what has the Government done to adopt an enlightened policy towards the Indian?

Scarcely anything at all. There was little evidence that Congress realized it had a great research organization at its disposal. A scrutiny of boards of Indian commissioners in recent years revealed few names of people recognized as authorities on Indian life and custom. The administration of the Indian office was ordinarily entrusted to men ignorant of, or indifferent to, Indian customs. If men of high ideals and real competence were placed in positions of authority they were promptly overwhelmed with advice from those having special interests in the Indian—one group urging that old religious and tribal customs be broken down as rapidly as possible, another that the life and habits of the "noble Red Man" be ridiculously exalted, and yet another determined to prey upon the Indians for financial profit. The scientist finally asks —is it possible to make anthropological investigations of value to the Government?

This, of course, is but one instance of hundreds that could be adduced. For we have so far never settled scientifically the simplest questions about government—whether a bureaucracy, or committee rule, representative government are, for instance, really good forms of getting work done, and whether they constitute really better instruments of social control than the dictatorship of a powerful executive. We do not know whether administrative committees work better than an executive or not. We do not know whether bureaucracy can be purged of red tape sufficiently to become what it should ideally be, or not. We do not know whether an advisory committee is better than an executive committee. We know some committees are ruled by one man, some by a clique, some committees are better than one man, and to some committees the members will not contribute their individual knowledge, and so on. But basically we are completely at sea.

When in this country we elect a government it remains almost

impossible to know what we shall accomplish by our collective act. Facts do not seem to exist upon which we may base a scientific judgment. Consider, for instance, the election of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover to power on various sequential occasions. They were elected to produce or to continue prosperity. But did the American people have in mind that the governments over which these men presided should also do everything in their power, as they have done, to further the success of the Soviet revolution in Russia, and the establishment of a successful Bolshevik dictatorship there, —or did they not? I am not seeking to say whether this Russian experiment should not have been encouraged by America. About that I know little or nothing. The fact remains that our successive governments and their plutocratic pilots have consistently encouraged it. Is that what was desired by the voters?

Initially our government, by frowning upon loans to the Soviet government, and by refusing to recognize it as a government, put it on its mettle and almost compelled it to make good. Campaigns of hate against it and manifold propaganda prevarications, which were permitted to circulate freely, accentuated the good effects of this policy. Entrepreneurs and financiers bravely came to the rescue by providing the Russian Soviet government with equipment and machinery, and by filling its orders in a generous fashion, with which business our government did not effectively interfere. American technicians unhindered went by hundreds to Russia to give their talent and experience to the success of the experiment. Meanwhile, the same financiers and the same government lavishly provided for the synthetic hatred of the Bolsheviki which could inevitably so act as to put an entire nation on its honor to succeed.

The result has been remarkable. The Five-Year-Plan, stupendously outlandish as it seemed in idea, actually appears to be succeeding. The Russian people have brought into being by their creative effort the wealth they could not borrow. Had loans been forthcoming ten years ago—or even less, they would have long since become a bourgeoisie nation like all the others and quite harmless to capitalism.

Such is not the case. The Bolsheviki no longer need to deal in

foreign propaganda and they realize it. If the experiment succeeds capitalism elsewhere is inevitably doomed by that fact. Is this what the American people desired their government to further and to help accomplish? Did they wish it to insure the success of something that menaces and will, if it succeeds, abolish the capitalistic system under which they live?

Even admitting the patently obvious fact that the Christianity of Christ himself, as nearly as it is possible to understand what this psycho-pathological thaumaturge actually thought and taught, is actually being put into effective practical operation for the first time on a national scale by these keen, religious fanatics in charge of the Soviet regime—even then, would or would not the American people prefer their government to foster in every possible way, as it has, the ultimate success of such an experiment? George Washington informed the Barbary pirates ours was not a government founded on Christian principles. Did the American public, then, desire to have their government help establish Christianity in Russia? I am sure I do not know. The point is that we can not, as I said above, predict what results we may secure from the governments we elect, and that we should have data upon the basis of which to make useful social predictions.

We continually take social steps and try large-scale public experiments when we have no idea what by-products will accrue from our actions. In some cases we could predict; in others we lack the statistical data to go on. Thus in recent years the little red school house has become incapable of giving rural children the education they should have. So we build centralized schools and send the children there in busses from a wide radius. This appeared a good step. However, it works out in such manner that the children who live near the school, get there long before the bell rings, play together and associate socially, conceive the idea that the school is "their" school, and that the bus children who arrive just as the bell rings, and do not share the social life of the school, are interlopers who have no business there. The psycho-pathological sequellae of this situation may be serious. But no one even thought of this contingency, in spite of the fact surely that any

individual who, like the present writer, was a "day dodger" at college, must have known that he felt like an interloper under the circumstances. It is criminally absurd that we should remain so pathetically mediaeval in governmental and administrative matters.

Political economy, in so far as it deals with wealth, deals with matter subserviant to the laws of physics; in so far as it deals with credit or debt it deals with a mathematical minus quantity which follows the rules of arithmetic and geometric progression, and is immaterial and nonphysical. The attempted union of these two in one constitutes the fundamental, totally irrational fallacy upon which political economy builds today. It is an attempt to merge the physical and the metaphysical into one.

Whereas physics itself has changed completely since Baghot's time, and natural science has moved far from Helmholtz and Kelvin —not to mention Galileo and Newton—politics dallies with its propositions in terms of the abstract formalism of Locke, Montesquieu, Austin, Blackstone, and Bentham. It continues to hold archaic theories about absolute rights and duties, ancient axioms of sovereignty and the general will, the sanction of law, the rule of public opinion, the mass behavior of "free and equal" men and women, and other anarchronistic eighteenth century fictions. It postulates atomic citizens of equal weight, volume and value, which do not exist either biologically or physically.

Our ideas of the state, clothed with indivisible sovereignty, are saturated with the notion that there are laws and principles of human liberty to which all government must conform. American political philosophy exalts individual citizenship beyond all reason, or until social control and individual freedom of thought become antithetical. In a period of acute depression, with millions out of work, our higher governmental officials preach to these sullen and, fortunately for the government, mentally dull individuals a type of ruthless, competitive individualism which neither side understands. For if the mob understood it would rise, club, and seize what it wanted; if the officials understood they would preach no such seditious and revolutionary doctrine. In reality all civic rights, all social obligations, all forms and methods of government,

all liberties, checks, and balances, all principles of political science are relative to each other. There are no more absolutes here nor anywhere else.

In economics more specifically we do not know enough yet to distinguish between wealth and dollars; between, gold accepted as specie and really representing community obligation, and gold accepted as jewelry, or potential ornamentation, and constituting real, not virtual, wealth. We do not yet realize that currency is not wealth but debt. We do not comprehend the fact that these shops called banks which deal so profitably in debt and apparently create wealth out of thin air—usurping the attribute of the Hebrew Jahwah, dominating us, expanding and contracting the flood of wealth at will—do this by fiat of the human will and in the realm of mathematics, not that of physical science. We do not consider how these banks traffic profitably in debts, buying and selling minus mathematical quantities, debts which, unlike wealth, do not rust away, but grow larger geometrically and will not follow the laws of physics.

Yet it is a curious thing to stop and think of this. A pound of gold is a physical object. If you want to live by means of it, you must chip it and trade the chips for other commodities. If you do so the gold disappears. But there is another way about. You can mint the gold, place it in a bank vault, and it will exude radiations of a thing called interest upon which you and your progeny may live in perpetuity without diminishment of the original pound by so much as a milligram. Not even radium can give forth emanations without finally becoming inert. Radium eventually turns into lead; economic gold, never. This curious irrational admixture of mathematics with physics explains, if one wishes an explanation, why starving people wander the streets in idleness with the factories able to supply their wants insanely idle at the same moment. No wonder government is so well divorced from technology that Chicago has the finest industrial technic imaginable and perhaps the worst government in the world.

Political science must be released from metaphysical, juristic, legalistic, conservation concepts. In doing this natural science,

the most radical thing in the world—and a natural communism as well—will set the pace. We must get rid of the intellectual insincerity we hold so inviolate about the nature of sovereignty, the general will, the sacred character of banking and credit, individual freedom, states' rights, *laissez faire*, the rule of the public opinion, checks and balances, the equality of individuals and of nations, and government by sterile legal precedent. We must assume the validity of certain axiomatic presumptions, make postulates consistent therewith, find concepts which are valuable in actual operation today, and parallel the objectivity of attitude and the technic of the natural scientist in all these operations. Education must cease to traffic with the past and must be purged of its theological and conservative impediments; it must inculcate scientific method for its cultural value, instruct the student accurately regarding his real position in the modern world—in short, make a violent effort to catch up with the sort of intellectual activity carried on by a Greek in Samos over two hundred years before Christ was born. Our present ridiculous economic predicament emphasizes our need of a new and modern social technic. Science places the required knowledge at our disposal. Shall we utilize it or shall we not?

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA
Apostle of World Unity

by

R. E. Wolseley

Beyond dispute the person most deserving of inclusion in a series such as this is a world citizen. Beyond dispute, too, is Salvador de Madariaga's right to world citizenship.

It is as such a citizen that we shall see him here, although, as anyone who has followed the career of this brilliant thinker knows, a like amount of space could be devoted to his skill as a literary critic, educator, journalist, or orator.

Before we proceed to an inspection of the thoughts and conduct that make him an apostle of world unity, let us dispose of some of the most commonplace reasons for de Madariaga's world view.

Although a Spaniard by birth, he is, like many Spaniards, an accomplished linguist. His most important books are written in English. His name is familiar on the covers of many leading American and British journals. His command of the other international language spoken at Geneva—French—is likewise admirable, and he is now serving as Spain's ambassador to France, after a short period in the same relationship to the United States.

His years as student and as teacher in educational institutions outside Spain are another obvious source of his international point of view. He attended three colleges in Paris after completing his studies in Madrid and has been King Alphonso XIII professor of Spanish studies at Oxford for a decade as well as a Fellow of Exeter College at the same English university.

For five years de Madariaga functioned as a journalist, publicist, and literary critic in London, from which we have his book,

Shelley and Calderon and Other Essays on English and Spanish Poetry.

Most important of all, of course, is de Madariaga's eight-year period of experience in international affairs, a catalog of which is amazing. He has been a member of the press section of the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva, director of the disarmament section of the Secretariat, secretary of the temporary mixed commission for disarmament, secretary of the preparatory commission for a disarmament conference, secretary of the third (disarmament) committee of the assembly of the League, and secretary-general of the international conference for the supervision of the trade in arms. Add to this his already mentioned ambassadorships.

With that background it is not surprising (it is above all heartening) to hear him declare: "Our experience leads us to the obvious conclusion that the world is a collectivity. It must therefore be governed as a unit. World government is then a necessity, for it is necessary that every collectivity should be governed. But we go further. We say that—up to a point—world government is already a reality."

This "eminent Spanish scholar and man of affairs," has expressed well what may be said of him, although when using these words in his book, *I. Americans,* he was not, of course, referring to himself. He has "the spirit of the inherent organic unity of the world of men and things and the faith in the manifestation of such a unity through world institutions led by intelligence and moved by good will."

Salvador de Madariaga is what the Germans call a *Weltbürger,* which is a shorter and more meaningful word than internationalist. He would not want to be designated a cosmopolitan, for cosmopolitanism seems to him "particularly abhorrent." Spaniards, he admits, "are particularly apt to take an international point of view, for their anti-gregarious individualism makes them impatient of excessive inward claims on the part of their own nation and therefore ready to criticize the nation's claims outward."

But even to call him an internationalist would gain his disfavor, for he says, "The word 'international' is all wrong. It

stresses precisely that which it means to attenuate. What lies 'inter' nations is their frontiers. When we speak of international life, international peace, international bank, we mean world life, world peace, world bank."

What has this world citizen, then, to offer us on some of the problems that are troubling the world today? His most valuable counsel, naturally, is on the question of disarmament, for his greatest experience in world government has related to it.

De Madariaga has some harsh opinions about disarmament and about the part which the United States is playing in the struggle for peace. At least they seem harsh to those many Americans who are unconscious of Uncle Sam's lack of cooperation with the existing efforts to bring it about. In his book, *Disarmament,* he prefaces those opinions, only a few of which we have space for here, with the statement that the "right to criticize is inherent in world citizenship. For world citizenship means world solidarity which in its turn implies world interest. . . . The foreign critic can only claim a right to criticize if he endeavors to keep on the plane of world interests free from the slightest trace of national bias, and if, moreover, he tries to enter the life and spirit of the nations he criticizes and to understand them with insight and sympathy."

So, although one of the leading crusaders for world peace and a believer in disarmament as a step toward avoidance of war, de Madariaga says that "Disarmament pure and simple is impossible, because disarmament pure and simple is not self-consistent." He is thoroughly informed on the subject, aware of the multitudinous difficulties which face the proponents of any disarmament plan, but he feels that there is more to the question than merely ridding the world of arms.

"The questions of disarmament resolve themselves into questions of security," he asserts in the same book, "and the questions of security into questions of international organization." Elsewhere he clarifies with "There is only one way of solving the problem of disarmament and that is by considering it . . . as the organization of peace. We do not want to suppress or abolish war. We would suppress or abolish nothing. Our work is not negative and

destructive; it is positive and creative. We do not want to destroy war. We want to create peace. For peace is no negative state which turns up through the absence of war." And peace means to him "the organization of men for the fight against the devils of war by cooperative means."

Another of his views which goes beyond that of the average dabbler in this tremendous question of war and peace, concerns the effectiveness of exploiting the horrors of war. "Fear," he writes, "is much akin to war. Let us not seek an ally in fear. The true path to peace is through reason. Our imagination must call forth plans of reason, ideas and ideals of reason in order to build up a stable peace."

Applying this remark, we might conclude that there is educational value in such motion pictures as "All Quiet On the Western Front," but little permanent value so far as the cause of peace is concerned. History has shown that men have not been stopped by the horrors suffered in previous wars. Every soldier thinks he will escape or that the risk is worth running for the sake of the applause and the experience.

On that phase of the subject of peace which relates directly to the United States de Madariaga is caustic. Just how ironical and sarcastic this Spanish master of our language can be is illustrated in these passages, which reveal more than his opinion: they disclose his skill with the language and the breadth of his mind.

Admitting that the United States is not fully trained in the methods of international cooperation, he nevertheless takes us to task for not joining the League. Few internationalists fail to, but we hear a world citizen speaking in this case:

". . . it is evident that in our opinion the chief responsibility for the stagnant state of disarmament lies with the nations which remain outside the League. The League is a courageous attempt at solving the world problems in a world way and and those who remain out of it are badly crippling this effort without contributing any positive alternative of a true constructive character."

But that is by no means all. He continues: "We have heard many a so-called reason for the United States to remain outside.

There is no reason whatsoever for such a thing. There are explanations of the fact. . . . But though this act may be explained, the act cannot be justified."

It is readily understood why de Madariaga's appointment as ambassador to this country last year aroused some feeling in Washington, for the Spaniard's sharp brain discerned our imperialism and his outspoken words called attention to it. No doubt many a regent of the D.A.R. was made to stir uncomfortably in her chair when he wrote:

"Now it is obvious that General Sandino and his followers are afield for no purpose whatsoever known to the American press. Indeed, were we to judge by the criterion of brigandage just defined (i.e., the existence of a definite aim for the violence used), not Sandino's men but the American marines might—at least by hurried people—be mistaken for brigands. For they, at any rate, are using force with a clear aim in view—namely, to guarantee that the Nicararguan election shall come up to the highest possible standards, say those of Chicago." De Madariaga would relish the remark of a famous American humorist who, when reprimanded by a cinematographic version of a "no foreign entanglements" senator for involving the United States in the problems of another country, gave the meaningful reply, "Oh, tell it to the marines!"

Possibly some reader will at this point raise the question, "But what about America's great contribution to the struggle for peace—outlawry of war? Surely he cannot disregard that."

By no means does he overlook it. He would not, in the first place, call the contribution great. On the contrary, in one book he declares that it is "a simple, nay, simple-minded panacea." But he is not unconscious of the good intentions behind it. "The outlawry of war doctrine is a red herring, the best meaning red herring that ever navigated the waters of international thought and politics, but a red herring for all that and one most disturbing for the cause of disarmament. The worst about it is the high standing, the generosity and even the intellectual distinction of its framers and inspirers. . . . We believe that the world can no more abolish war by outlawing it than men can abolish disease by declaring it illegal."

More concretely, his opposition is based on the self-defense clause and the isolation of war policy.

Let it not be thought that de Madariaga singles out the United States for his barbs. By no means. He spares no nation whose leaders are guilty of shoddy thinking, of illogical national feeling and action. The lament should be not about what he says but that he finds need to say it.

De Madariaga has, of all world citizens, one of the most brilliant minds at work today. An acquaintance of his says: "If you know the celebrated dinner talk in one of the earlier chapters, perhaps the first, of Meredith's *Diana At the Crossways,* and if I say that Madariaga's conversation was more scintillating that that, you may get some faint intimation of his brilliance. . . . His mind is excessively brilliant, with an enormous facility at fantastic imagery, yet soberly and profoundly based."

It is not too much to conclude and to hope that, some years hence when world unity is no longer in the embryonic stage, this particular apostle of its earlier days will be honored as the intelligent pioneer he is.

The thirty-third article in the series on Apostles of World Unity.

THE PATH OF HISTORY

by

PAUL HINNER

A NEW EPOCH OF CIVILIZATION

THE gold standard as an organ of individualism is not suitable for the communistic order of society and must remain confined to the countries which are not yet in a state to make their transfer to the new epoch possible and necessary. However, in the body of the new civilization a currency must be developed which has the products of human efforts as a basis and which is completely under government control. For that purpose all banks, wholesale business and storage facilities must be taken over by the government. Through such a currency the producers will be automatically recognized according to their value to society. In the further development of the new order, public ownership must be gradually extended to all necessary industries and their operation placed in the hands of the staff and crew on a Democratic basis. In this way the workers will become acquainted with the responsibilities of management and the government learn through practical experience just how far control is to be extended. In the valuation of the produced goods the same measure which is applied to the products of the industries must also be applied to the products of agriculture so that strict justice will prevail between the two and the existing ill-feeling between country and town be eliminated.

In the transfer of private enterprises to the government, the present owners must be compensated through a pension which corresponds to the service in developing or carrying on this particular business. The countries of Western Europe and America, having a larger interval of time for the transition at their disposal, may

accomplish the transfer of private property to public ownership through changing the laws of inheritance. The possessing classes, however, must not fall into the error of thinking that through being deprived of their property in this way, an injustice is being done to them, because that is not the case. If affairs are allowed to drift as they have been since the war, a complete state of anarchy will engulf all industrial countries and produce conditions which in their horror will surpass even the late war. In that turmoil the institution of private property will vanish like chaff before a gale and its beneficiaries will not only be left destitute but will also be held responsible for the situation.

The World War ended for the Polish people a long period of foreign domination and suppression of the national life. It was not to be expected that they would immediately find the equilibrium necessary for the best conduct of their affairs. The sudden transition caused them to fall into the error of thinking, that only a Poland of large territorial dimensions could express their value to the world. They, therefore, burdened themselves with minorities of adjoining nations to such an extent that the existence of the new statae is endangered, if all outside support should be withdrawn. However, signs are not lacking which indicate that Poland is commencing to realize that as a compact country of less extent but inhabited only by a Polish people and situated between neighbors who are not offended by a loss of territory and population, the people would have a better opportunity for enjoying life and the blessings of independence than under present conditions. The domination of Poland by France in military matters, exploits the delicate situation of the country for the benefit of an unnatural French foreign policy. Through this Poland is indirectly deprived of independence and burdened with military armaments to such an extent that it is unable to improve the cultural level of the people. However, in placing an unbearable burden on the Polish people this military domination by France prepares them for the influence of the socialistic-communistic ideals and the merging with the new civilization. The Polish people, being racially kin to the Russian people and having traits and experiences in common with them,

will have no difficulty in adjusting themselves to a common political and economic level despite the fact that during the last decade internal as well as external influences have systematically promoted a feeling of hostility towards the Soviets. As the political and economic conditions prevailing in Poland tend to approach a climax, the Polish masses realize more and more that only through accepting the new order of society will they find the place in the world which rightfully belongs to them and which will give them an opportunity for using their many good qualities not only for their own benefit but also for the development of a new and better civilization. When Russia, Poland and Germany will be embraced by the communistic order of society on a common economic basis, the advantages of drawing the borders according to the wishes of the involved people, will become evident in such a degree that Poland itself will desire a revision of the frontiers and in this way remove the cause of friction which prevents at present the establishment of true peace in Eastern Europe.

The destruction of the military power of Germany and Austria was a necessary part of the development of human affairs. Their historic mission, to be the rear-guard of Western Europe against the Slavs, had come to an end and their power was an obstacle to the materialization of the socialistic-communistic ideals. The destruction of the Central Powers was inaugurated and aided by deficient leadership. Wilhelm II, and the German and Austrian statesmen of his time, did not have the least conception of the direction of the natural development of human affairs. They were dazzled by the outward splendor of the materialistic climax of individualism and failed to recognize the true meaning of the socialistic-communistic movement. The military leaders of Germany were experts in the technique of war but otherwise unable to grasp the true situation of their country. After the first year of the World War it was evident that Germany and Austria could not force a decision in their favor. Italy failed them and America was becoming so deeply involved on the side of the Allies that it could not tolerate their defeat; but the military leaders of the Central Powers were ready to oppose the whole world. The peace of Brest-Litovsk

is another illustration of their lack of vision. The fact that they took the position of a conqueror and forced unbearable conditions on the helpless Slavic people, showed that they stood on the same level as later on the leaders of the Allies at Versailles. Both groups represented opposing currents of selfishness, which through their violent conflict destroyed the individualistic civilization. The German people do not act logically when they protest against the Treaty of Versailles but at the same time retain in leading positions persons who are responsible for the disgrace of Brest-Litovsk.

The socialistic-communistic ideals which Russia has accepted as guiding principle, came mainly out of German sources and in this way a spiritual bond between certain classes of the two nations was established long before the war. Besides this, since the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles, the majority of the German people have become accustomed to look upon the new Russia as a friend, as it is practically the only country which did not exploit their misfortune. These facts in combination with oppression which the German people have suffered from the western nations since the war, will cause them to turn to Russia in quest of relief and salvation, when the present political and economic institutions break under the strain. The law of self-preservation, the most insistent force of life will compel the German people to embrace communism in order to avoid anihilation. This course of events is inevitable because it is the logical consequence of previous development and present conditions. Opposition will only prolong suffering and fail in the end.

Unfortunately the German working class is not fully aware of its mission to be the head of the socialistic-communistic movement in Germany. One part is neglecting the new ideals and is aiding individualistic elements in the futile attempt to reconstruct the old order, while the other part dreams of realizing the communistic ideals immediately through a revolution. This division of the leading element of the movement retards the extension of influence over parts of the population—because dissension is destroying instead of inspiring confidence. The German working class must return to a common policy and strive unitedly for closer

relations with Russia and the materializing of the socialistic-communistic ideals as the flow of historic evolution makes it necessary and possible. Through such a policy the German workers will gain the confidence of other sections of the population in a measure sufficient to attain political control without the use of violence when the old order fails. A Germany disrupted by a revolution would be useless to the new civilization and to mankind for many years to come. When Russia, Poland and Germany have been welded into a unit and the new organs have attained a certain measure of efficiency, the strengthened communistic epoch will be in a position to undertake the salvation of China or any other country which by that time may be in distress, but the geographic sequence must be maintained as direct contact is necessary for the functioning of the organs in the new as well as in the remnants of the old civilization. The other countries of the world, if not actively aiding this process, must at least refrain from opposition. All war debts must be cancelled as a vivid demonstration that it is not only immoral but also unprofitable to make war, or to aid the combatants. Germany must be released from further payments of reparations under the condition of applying all power and ability to the development of the new civilization. In their internal affairs the remaining individualistic nations must adopt measures which will tend to minimize the distress in their own countries and at the same time prepare for the new order.

Nature, the source of all wisdom, provides ample guidance also for this emergency. Accumulated wealth in the collective being corresponds with the fat in the body of the individual. It represents the acquisition by individual cells of surplus values, brought within reach by the circulating medium, the blood or currency. Now, if a fat person, through force of circumstances, is put on half rations, this process of acquisition is reversed and the accumulated fat distributed through the blood to all parts of the body, as the maintenance of the bodily functions require it. All measures of relief in the present period of transition must be based on this principle. Instead of granting unearned doles, the governments must provide employment for all who need it. This can be

accomplished by carrying out large projects like flood-control, utilization of water power, reforestation, etc. Besides this surplus urban population must be encouraged and aided to return to the land and to make itself self-supporting. Through organizing these undertakings on the collective principle, the workers can be trained to responsibility and the governments acquire needed experience for the extension of control to other fields. The necessary means must be raised through taxing luxuries, high profits and accumulated wealth; because society being the source of all wealth, has the right to dispose of it. The degradation of having to accept charity must be lifted from the multitude of unemployed at any cost and useful work provided, which will at least furnish the necessities of life.

It was the destiny of the United States of America to carry individualistic civilization to a climax and following that, to be the foremost medium for its dissolution through the excessive promotion of materialism and the increase of the world's indebtedness, beyond the ability of the people to bear it. During the World War the financial center of the western world shifted without a conscious effort from England to the United States. The latter had taken full advantage of the many opportunities which the war offered and had been transformed in a short time from a debtor into a creditor nation. This suddenly obtained economic advantage promoted an unprecedented expansion of the materialistic desires in the American people and also caused all individuals to strive for a share of this easily won wealth. These desires in turn led to the development of means and methods to satisfy and also to exploit them. From this development the native American tendency to carry everything to the highest point, led to an inflation of values through fictitious capital in the form of negotiable paper securities; then to an over-expansion of the credit system and finally to a climax in a great wave of speculation. In their attempts to get rich quickly, or to obtain the means for satisfying increased materialistic desires, many people used their savings to speculate on the exchanges. There they became easy victims of accumulated capital which was bound to prevail over small and limited amounts in the

final liquidation. This course of events in combination with continuous centralization of wealth destroyed suddenly the buying power of a considerable part of the population of the U. S. and brought on an acute economic depression. In consequence of the organic entity of the epoch of civilization this depression affects now the whole western world. This crisis is not of a temporary nature like similar previous occurrences but is the beginning of the dissolution of the present financial system, because the centralization of wealth has reached its limit and the exploitation of the ability of all nations to pay interest on outstanding securities has been carried to such a degree through the inflation of values that a financial recuperation of the masses has become impossible.

The present economic crisis represents the accumulated effects of human selfishness. This selfishness was general but force of circumstances brought the effects of it to a climax in the United States. The following are the most outstanding items: *The appropriation by the owners of the industries and business facilities of all profits and new capital created in the process of production,* although society provided the opportunity and the workers contributed the necessary labor. This was the primary cause of the centralization of wealth. *The exploitation of the World War by nations and individuals for the amassing of wealth.* The products furnished and assistance rendered to the waring nations were known to be for destructive purposes only and although it is self-evident that destructive activities do not create wealth, financial usage nevertheness converted them into actual values. These immoral values now rest as debts on the former combatants and will even burden future generations, which are absolutely innocent of all blame for the conflict. *The corporate practice of issuing negotiable securieies which did not represent actual investments.* This practice created fictitious values and imposed a burden on society without rendering a service. *Speculation on the fluctuation of the prices of products and securities.* This is a method of acquiring wealth without rendering compensation to its producers or previous owners and which through usage has become legal. *The multiplying of the productivity of labor through machinery and scientific organization of the process*

of production without increasing also the buying power of the workers and their dependents. This development even impaired the buying power because many workers were displaced permanently through these innovations, while others were reduced to seasonal or part time employment. The present practice of deferred payments on purchases does not increase buying power but on the contrary exploits it. These features brought additional advantages to the possessing classes because only owners of wealth were in a position to avail themselves of them. The effects of these different items of human selfishness, in combination with the burden of the world's indebtedness and the dwindling of opportunities for reinvesting of accumulating capital, constituted a wholly one-sided process which drained capital, the lifeblood of society, from the masses without providing a corresponding return flow. This draining of capital out of the masses was so intensive and had progressed to such a degree that neither deflation of prices nor inflation of credit or even the natural increase of population could produce sufficient additional buying power to overcome the effects of the process, and the present prolonged crisis was the result. Further deflation of prices is not feasible on account of its tendency to produce business and bank failures. Additional inflation of credit is also impossible because this inflation has reached its natural limit in the sale of goods on the instalment plan. Increase of population, likewise, remains ineffective as at the present state of affairs it only causes larger numbers of people to share the available buying power. It is evident therefore that the mediums which brought relief in previous crises are now ineffective and that in order to accomplish a real and lasting improvement of prevailing conditions, selfishness must be deplaced by justice as the governing factor in the development of human affairs through a revision of conduct and a fundamental reorganization of society.

The combined effects of the domination by materialistic interests, of the termination of the World War according to her wishes, of the flattery lavished on her by many nations in order to gain her favor and of the successes in business and imperialistic expansion since the war, have distorted the vision of America and have not

only prevented her from recognizing the destructiveness of her financial activities but have created in her the illusion that her salvation and destiny lie in a continuation of this line of conduct. She imagines that through a tenacious holding on to old principles and institutions and through the exclusion of new ideas from the country and the growing generation, the development of human affairs can be halted or deflated to suit her wishes. The persecution of the carriers of radical political ideas and the passing of laws against the teaching of the theory of evolution are instances. It does not occur to the American people that the organs of the individualistic civilization have outlived their usefulness and that they must be replaced by institutions based on the collective principle.

The official attitude of organized labor in America towards the ideals of the new civilization is one of resistance. The A.F. of L. is satisfied to promote the material well-being of its members as far as is possible without disturbing the individualistic order. It is striving for a six hour day and a five day week for some privileged occupations but remains indifferent to the fact that agricultural labor, besides being seasonal to a large extent, must work ten to twelve hours daily with only a fractional Sunday, and for meager wage. The A.F. of L. absolutely ignores the duty of striving for a just compensation to all workers and leaves the vast body of unskilled and seasonal labor, as well as agriculture, to suffer under the prevailing unjust conditions. However, it is not likely that this lack of constructive value in the A.F. of L. will be a handicap when the necessity arrives for America to embrace the new civilization, because by that time the order of transition will be so well understood by all classes that the leadership of labor can be dispensed with.

American agriculture is in a very unfavorable situation. Through a system of exchanges and the protective tariff, organized business interests control not only the market for the products of agriculture but also the price of everything which agriculture has to buy. Through this control the cost of living was kept from rising, with the inflation of capitalization of the industries and the necessity of raising the pay of the inductrial workers was avoided.

In this way professional speculators and the owners of the industries absorbed the profit of agriculture and reduced the farmer to a state of serfdom, without, however, assuming the responsibility for his welfare. American agriculture, therefore, finds itself in a position which can be bettered only through an application of the collective principle and consequently has every reason to assist in the promotion of the communistic civilization.

The League of Nations does not represent an honest attempt to solve the world's problems fairly and impartially. It was designed to legalize and perpetuate the fruits of selfishness for the Allies and most of its actions have never been more than feeble attempts to find compromises between conflicting currents in the selfish aspirations of quarreling nations. Instead of aiding the forces which are active in the evolution of a civilization based in the collective principle, the League has persistently hindered them. Such action is contrary to the natural evolution of human affairs and must therefore ever remain barren. No power on Earth can prevent the displacing of the individualistic order of society by a communistic civilization because it is a process in nature and mankind must submit and make the best of it.

THE CASE FOR WAR

by

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V

THOROUGHGOING defenders of war are bound to postulate the sovereignty, the all-transcending ultimacy, of the group which makes war. If only the proposition be granted that the will of the state is absolute, that the ends of the nation are incomparably superior to private ends, it follows as of course that the most effective means, no matter how drastic or destructive of individual welfare, are appropriate. And the last resort, the final arbitrament in a clash of wills, is obviously "force without stint" or war. If, on the other hand, the welfare of individuals be taken as the end, and the various groupings reduced to the status of means, it becomes appropriate to count the cost to individual interests of group conflict, and to balance it against the costs of peaceful methods of adjustment. But unconditional justification of war can never be based upon such a cost accounting.

In strict logic radical justification of war demands the unqualified exaltation of the war-making group, not as a collection of individuals whose individual interests are to be promoted, but as an abstraction distinct from the sum of the interests of its members. Such a view possesses very limited appeal. For the majority war is imperfectly but satisfactorily rationalized whenever it occurs by the assumption that the opponent is in the wrong. Particularly in the nineteenth century, when radical defence of war was first required, was the essential premise of state absoluteness increasingly unacceptable. For it was incompatible with the advancing doctrine of democracy and constitutionalism, which taught sub-

ordination of the State to the welfare of individual men. Under such circumstances a more convincing justification of war was needed. This seemed to be supplied by the new science of anthropology and by the biological concept of a progressive evolution occuring through a "survival of the fittest" in the "struggle for existence" which was widely disseminated after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species.* Science appeared to have revealed a casual connection between conflict and progress. And since war was conflict of the most elemental sort it stood certified as good by Science, man's surest guide to truth. It is not surprising, then, that the doctrine of war as an agency of natural selection essential to human progress became common dogma among militarists.

VI

Early anthropology exhibited war as a principal cause of the appearance of social order. Such a view gave great satisfaction to militarists, and was cited as a scientific confirmation of the indispensability of war although, strictly speaking, proof of the early importance of war could not alone demonstrate its contemporary value. Out of the conflict of group with group internal solidarity had been achieved, according to anthropological doctrine. Cooperation in war was the seed from which other types of cooperation had grown. War had required and perhaps generated the virtues of obedience and discipline, of patience, perseverance, and cooperation. It had placed a premium upon organization and authority. Those groups in which the authority of the chief was most developed, in which incipient law was most effective, in which religious observances contributed most to socialization had conquered opposing groups, enlarged the areas of societal organization, and introduced the complexities of slavery and caste. In the larger and more complex groups which war created governmental organization and the institution of monarchy naturally developed; so that state emerged from primitive conditions. More advanced economic arrangements and the existence of leisured culture followed from the slavery and caste which conquest created. And throughout the political, economic, and cultural development war

constituted the selective process by which the progressive peoples inherited the earth at the expense of the less progressive and disseminated their gains.

It was easy to assert that an institution which had played such a vital rôle in the origin of civilization could never be dispensed with. Such a view was confidently asserted by militarists, of course, and it found favor as well with certain of the earlier sociologists, notably Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer. In the United States Lester F. Ward seemed to incline toward this view, for, after showing the part war has played in human progress, he declared: "Under the operation of such a cosmical principle it seems a waste of breath to urge peace, justice, humanity, and yet there can be no doubt that these moral forces are gaining strength and slowly mitigating the severity of the law of nature. But mitigating is all that can be hoped for. The movement must go on, and there seems no place for it to stop until, just as man has gained dominion over the animal world, so the highest type of man shall gain dominion over all the lower types of man." He suggested that the "maudlin sentimentality and inconsistent sympathy" of pacifists, if it should become widespread, might lead to a cessation of progress.

Later sociological thought has corrected the attribution of excessive and almost exclusive importance to war as an agency in the formation of society and the state, and so has undermined the supposed presumption in favor of war being of permanent social value. The prevalence of war among primitive peoples was greatly over-estimated by the earlier writers, and they ignored or grossly slighted the socializing influence of the bonds of kinship, local proximity, and common customs and superstitious observances. Recent opinion holds that war has been an important sociological influence only after social groups have become relatively advanced. Through it empires and nations have been constructed but it has not played a primary rôle in the creation of social order.

Imperative of the rôle war may have played in early societies many sociological writers have conceived societal advancement as a process in which war will diminish. Such was the view not only

of Novicow, who emphasized the original influence of other factors than war, but also of Bagehot and Spencer, who stressed war's early importance. Writers of this opinion hold that in the course of human development the struggle for existence has occurred and will continue to occur on a progressively less destructive and more humane plane. Primitive conflicts terminated in the extermination of the weaker, subsequently in enslavement only. Still later—the present condition within organized states—bloody struggle has been eliminated and in its place is the limited competition of the economic and political sphere in which men strive for wealth and power in such a fashion that their rivals are not only not destroyed but may even participate in the benefits from control passing into the hands of the abler. Ideas and ways of life compete for acceptance in the minds of men, so that cultures wax and wane, flourish and pass, in a sphere quite apart from that of biological struggle. Armed violence is approved only as an occasional occurrence between organized states, and in that sphere too, it can and will be advantageously displaced by the more advanced and various modes of competition.

Contradictory theories of social evolution are too speculative to afford a reliable evaluation of war even in the past, much less in present and future. However, they have been a main reliance of militarists in their attempt to prove that war is justified by science. The biological concept of evolution through natural selection has also been appealed to, but usually only in a superficial manner. The phrases, "survival of the fittest" and "struggle for existence," were eagerly seized and turned to popular account as a scientific justification of war. If progress was the result of a ruthless struggle in which many succumbed and the few triumphed to perpetuate their successful characteristics in succeeding generations, nothing was easier than to transcribe the account into national terms and see in war the selective process by which superior peoples inherited the earth at the expense of inferior. "History," asserted an English biologist,* "shows me one way, and one way only, in which a high state of civilization has been produced, namely, the struggle of race with race, and the survival of the physically and

* Karl Pearson

mentally fitter race." For the most part the science of biology was appealed to with little attempt at elaboration and little indication of a careful consideration of its real import, as by General Bernhardi, who declared: "War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization."

The attempt to secure scientific sanction for war by appeal to biological concepts proved no more successful than the appeal to human evolution as pictured by anthropology and sociology. Social Darwinism, as the application of the theory of natural selection to support war has been called, has encountered trenchant criticism. In the first place, the biological concept of a "struggle for existence" is much more inclusive than is war in its ordinary meaning. By Darwin and others who have made much of the idea it has been used in broad and diverse senses, including the "dependence of one being upon another." Survival of the fittest in such a struggle means the survival of those individuals best suited by hereditary nature or accident of situation to their environment, not the survival of those most capable of exterminating other individuals of the species. Ordinary business competition or rivalry for political preferment are as much a part of such a "struggle" as is war. Whatever the validity of such a principle of self-assertion and conflict, it is too general to assure the desirability and performance of so specific a phenomenon as war between modern states.

The most evident weakness of Social Darwinism is its utterly uncritical equation of nations with the units of biological struggle, and of victory in war with biological survival. If war is to have biological significance the opponents must possess distinct biological heritages, and victory in war must result in relative increase of population of the victor. In modern war neither of these conditions are met. Proponents of the selective value of war commonly write as though nations were virtually analogous to species in the plant or animal world. But although nations have more or less political, historical, lingual, economic, religious, and psychological unity, they

are not even approximately subspecies. As Novicow remarked sarcastically, "It is simply in the case of the foreigner that massacre is productive of all the virtues. But that word foreigner is absolutely convential. In the Fourteenth century the inhabitants of the six hundred and fifty states of Germany considered one another foreigners." Not only are nations not biological units; modern civilized international war does not result in nor even tend toward the survival of the victor and the extinction of the vanquished, the very essence of the "survival of the fittest" idea. Victory in war does not produce a more rapid increase of population among the conquerors in comparison with the conquered. German and French population tendencies have not been reversed by the World War, nor are the Chinese or the peoples of India vanishing away because they lack the political power of the European nations. In fact conquest of the less advanced peoples by the western powers has resulted in the relative increase of their populations due to the introduction of sanitation, medical science, and a more productive economic system, as in the case of India and the Philippines for example.

If war exerts no positive biological selection as between groups, it is quite possible that its selection among individuals is definitely disadvantageous. This is a leading contention of pacifists, who argue that the soundest men of a nation are exposed to the hazards of war and so are killed in disproportionate numbers. Although it cannot be said that this position has received scientific verification, there is practically no evidence to support nor any disposition to hold the reverse position, that the selection of war as among individuals is beneficial. The bearing of biology upon the question of the desirability of war, then, is nil if not negative.

VII

Though we must reject the alleged scientific justification of war and disagree with Bernhardi's dictum that war is good because it "gives a biologically just decision," nevertheless the idea of progress through survival has suggested arguments in favor of war which possess a qualified validity. By war, it is asserted, superior

deleopments in government, in economic organization and industrial technique, and in culture gain widened influence and acceptance. As between western civilization and other cultures, the West has attained marked superiority in material and technological development. This material advancement has resulted in superior military power, which in turn has had much to do with the world extension of the new methods of applied science, both by supporting direct imposition and by evoking defensive cultivation of them as in Japan. Military power has not played the whole rôle, however, for missionary activity and commerce have been of great importance. But it is not only colonial wars or the extortion of privileges from the backward nations by military power which militarists must defend. If war is good, then wars between the advanced nations all possessing approximately the same general material advancement must be justified. Can it be said that military superiority is a satisfactory index of advancement as between such nations? And further, is it a necessary and effective instrument in disseminating superior civilization?

Militarists answer the first question in the affirmative. Modern war, they say, requires the personal virtues of courage, endurance, and self-sacrifice as always. In addition it requires intelligence and organizing ability, industrial capacity, accumulated wealth and a virile population, and a sound political and economic order.

"In war that nation will conquer which can throw into the scale the greatest physical, mental, moral, material, and political power, and is therefore best able to defend itself. War will furnish such a nation with favorable vital conditions, enlarged possibilitites of expansion and widened influence, and thus promote the progress of mankind; for it is clear that those intellectual and moral factors which insure superiority in war are also those which render possible a general progressive development. They confer victory because the elements of progress are latent in them. Without war, inferior or decaying races would easily choke the growth of healthy budding elements, and universal decadence would follow." *

It is true that superior military power under modern conditions

* Bernhardi

requires a satisfactory development in many aspects of national life, but nevertheless it cannot be taken as more than a very rough measure of general advance in civilization—unless, of course, one defines civilization as the capacity to wage war. Civilization consists of innumerable elements, no one of which serves as a satisfactory index of advancement in the others, or in the average if such be conceivable. At a given time one nation may be preëminent in medical research and the technology of the steel industry while another leads in the methods of primary education and the organization of agricultural marketing. War is too crude an instrument to effect progressive selection in such complexity. Another consideration which effectively negatives any correlation between victory in war and degree of civilization is the matter of differences in size and population of nations, and, if we are considering the chance of being victorious in any particular war, the alliance situation at the time. Can the Scandinavian nations never hope to vie with France in culture, nor France with Russia, because of the great differences in population? Would the advancement of Italy have to be differently estimated if she had been true to the Triple Alliance and her weight had been insufficient to change the outcome of the World War?

Turning to the second question—even if it were true that ability to win wars indicated superior civilization as between the nations of the western world, does military superiority contribute effectively to extend the influence of the higher culture. In so far as military power enables one nation instead of another to secure dependencies, it does, of course, help to extend the language and other cultural peculiarities of the stronger nation. In so far as war determined the cultural division of the New World in the sixteenth century and after it played an important rôle in disseminating particular civilizations. But with the earth partioned among nations on the same technical level, such spectacular occurrences in the colonial realm are not to be repeated. When wars can no longer result in the securing of relatively important areas capable of being populated by colonists of the victorious nation or at least fundamentally influenced by its culture, they impede rather than extend

the influence of the victor as well as the vanquished. For the normal modes of communication are interrupted, and, still more, an aroused national prejudice opposes the adoption of foreign innovations. Defenders of war, however, ignore the subtle extension of cultural influence which thrives in peace in the diffusion of scientific ideas and techniques, of business methods, commodities, fashions, literary and artistic modes, and equate the influence of a culture with the political influence of the state. By such simplification (and falsification) military power is shown to be effective in extending higher civilization and so essential to progress.

Of course, political influence is an element in the relation of groups which cannot be ignored. When the influence of a nation, or of a class, ceases to approximately accord with its potential power, readjustment becomes imminent. If it cannot be effected regularly and peaceably then extra-legal and perhaps violent methods will be resorted to, as the history of revolutions proves. The fact of changes in potential power as between nations was the basis of the most impressive American justification of war, that of Admiral Mahan. He pointed out that marked changes have occurred in the capacity and power of nations, that these changes have been reflected in the their territorial extent and political influence, and rightly so. The Turkish Empire has been excluded from Europe, and the Spanish from America, while nations in Eastern Europe and in America have attained political independence. England and Germany have advanced mightily. These readjustments in the political balance have been effected through wars, therefore war must be approved. But Admiral Mahan ignored the question whether it would be possible, and if so whether it would not be desirable, to effect such readjustments gradually and peaceably, as we aspire to effect them between classes within the state. The only alternative to war which he considered was arbitration, judicial settlement of disputes on the basis of the *status quo*. But, he pointed out, it is obviously impossible to perpetuate indefinitely the political status of any particular period, and if possible it would be intolerable.

If the alternative were indeed as it is presented by Admiral

Mahan his choice would be unimpeachable. To enchain international order in a rigid net of immutable law breakable only by resort to force, would require and justify occasional war. But since he wrote pacifist thought has acquired a new emphasis. Arbitration is no longer proposed as a last resort, but arrangements are envisaged in which law can be modified internationally as it can within the state without resort to violence. Mahan, indeed, recognized the possibility of such a situation, but it did not then possess the plausibility to require extended rebuttal, so he dismissed it with the casual assertion that "there can be little doubt that these matters will be settled in a manner far more advantageous to the world by leaving them to the play of natural forces." But to say no more than this is to ignore the crucial question and simply to assume war's desirability.

VIII

Defenders of war, like all partizans, have resorted to incomplete and unsound arguments. Minimizing the evils of war rebuts the exaggerations of pacifists, but it does not constitute a justification. The attempt to give scientific sanction to war as an agency for weeding out the biologically unfit is unsound, nor is the argument that military victories result in progressive cultural selection impressive under present conditions. Finally, the argument of Mahan, that war is the only alternative to an unchanging political status, presents an unnecessary dilemma. Yet there remains a case for war which is logically sound and sufficient—if the premises be accepted. But there is no probability of the premises ever being accepted by any considerable number. That war is in itself good, that deprivation, bereavement and suffering should be chosen rather than opposed by men, is never likely to be the doctrine of any but a few mystically minded persons who feel a peculiar urge to affirm all that exists. The premises of the indirect justification of war are hardly more attractive when they are understood, for they too involve repudiation of men's normal interests and desires. As men have become increasingly conscious of their political environment they have insisted that political institutions exist to

further the ends and protect the interests of individuals. But the theory which makes war an appropriate instrument for the state catagorically denies this democratic urge and looks upon the state as an end in itself, a mystic abstraction overriding all human interests, a transcendent personality whose purposes are unrelated to the interests of its members. Not only is this premise of the ultimacy of the state unacceptable, but the attendant premise of the separateness of states loses its persuasiveness in the face of their increasing interdependence and interrelations, and the increasing number of interests which are of international extent. Where interests are there rights will be recognized. And a view which posits a sheer separation of interests and an absence of rights where there is no such separation can only seem irrelevant.

Though we must conclude that justification of war, as distinguished from vindication of one of the parties, has been supported only by arguments which are logically unsound or else based upon premises which cannot command general acceptance, that is not to say that international peace can be assured. Whether men can construct and operate enduring institutions of world-wide scope which will enable necessary readjustments to be made without recourse to violence—that is a question which only the event can answer.

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

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MAN'S SEARCH FOR HAPPINESS

JUST as we enlarge our life by learning to respond to a greater and greater variety of things, we intensify and deepen our lives by giving up some of the coarser satisfactions for the more intense satisfactions, for the more intense joys, which come from a response to the finer, more beautiful and spiritual qualities in both nature and our fellows.

The man who indulges any of his physical appetites to a point of intemperance certainly does get satisfaction. But what is this physical satisfaction compared to having the confidence of his loved ones and his friends? The miser no doubt gets much satisfaction as he lays away dollar after dollar. His life, however, does not compare favorably with that of the individual who utilizes his means to bring happiness to others. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." It is also more profitable to the individual. It pays larger dividends in the joys which make for life more abundant.

No one who has ever listened to a group of gossipers would say that they do not get some satisfaction. At times it would seem that the rewards of the gossiper are very keen, but they do not compare with that soul satisfying joy which comes from holding up the virtues of someone who is in danger of being torn to pieces by the vultures of gossip.

A story is told of a mother who had entertained the night before what was supposed to be a number of her lady friends.

The next day at the dinner table a sixteen year old son said: "Mother have those ladies who were here last night ever done you any harm?"

The mother thoughtlessly replied: "Certainly not, they are all my friends."

The boy apparently not satisfied ventured a further question. "Don't you like any of them at all?"

To this question the mother with surprise said: "Why certainly, my son, what makes you ask such a question?"

With a puzzled expression the son finally remarked: "Then, why do you say such awful things about them?"

This mother enjoyed, no doubt, her destructive criticism, but it is a very different kind of satisfaction from that enjoyed by the woman who is loyal to her friends.

The moral or sex pervert may get a certain animal satisfaction from his thoughts and actions but the finer things of the spirit represent a closed book to him.

Another statement from Mrs. Huntley's book "Harmonies of Evolution" has a specific application at this point. She says: "Much of the crime and sorrow of human life is the direct result of perversion in the physical sex relation. The most unhappy and most degraded of mortals are those who seek happiness through the physical appetites and passions. The personal life history of the glutton, the libertine, and the prostitute would carry its own proof of this statement. The attempt to satisfy the soul through the body always has been and always will be the most lamentable mistake that a rational being can make."

The man who takes unfair advantage or privileges which are not rightly his own, gets some satisfaction, but he can never experience the uplifting, constructive and permanent satisfactions which come to the individual who is willing to give all a square deal and take only that which belongs to him.

One who has watched the great struggle, and witnessed the various methods employed, for selfish ambition for place and power in the political and religious worlds, would never say that these men receive no satisfaction, but what are their rewards compared

to the peace and soul poise of one who has brought himself to want to be in that "place wherein his intelligence and his abilities shall accomplish the largest measure of the most profitable service to the cause of truth and humanity." The plaudits of the multitude have their reward but they are shifting and temporary as compared to the lasting joys which come to the individual "who has the courage if necessary to live in obscurity without honors or emoluments that he may more successfully carry out his work of love and discharge his full responsibility to humanity."

No doubt much satisfaction comes from following the sign boards of Greenwich, "Follow the impulse"; but the dangers and pitfalls are many. There is little question but that the individual who can control and organize his impulses on a basis of intelligence will have a much more abundant life than the one who is a slave to them.

Jesus said: "I am come that ye might have life." Life expresses itself in interest in all things, in activity, in satisfactions from every type of response, in friendship, companionship, and in love. It expresses itself in hope, faith and knowledge of things spiritual. It is manifest in intellectual pleasures, aesthetic appreciation and love of the beautiful.

At this point it will be well for us to take note of certain psychological phenomena. First, all satisfactions, all pleasure, and all joys are experienced in connection with a harmonious response of the individual to some principle, some law or some phase of nature; second, all pain, discomfort or misery is experienced in connection with certain conflicts or discord between the individual's life and some law, principle or phase of nature.

The building of a rich, beautiful and abundant life involves four things: First.—Life must be made *extensive*. This is made possible by developing the ability and power to respond to the greatest number of things possible. Every new world one explores increases the number of satisfactions and joys and thus increases his life. The fields of the physical sciences, biological sciences, social sciences, art, music, literature, history, philosophy, and religion all contain innumerable possibilities for satisfying and joy-

giving experiences. The various planes of life discussed in this chapter, namely, physical senses, possession of physical things, attainment of power and position, aesthetic response, moral and spiritual adjustments, intellectual achievements, and the conquest of self-mastery represent worlds in which life can be made extensive. The more responses one can make in these fields the greater the number of satisfactions and hence the more extensive the life.

This principle of the extension of life is the key to the modern philosophy of universal education. It would declare that every soul has a right to the pursuit of happiness regardless of his station. Why should the daughter of a laborer have an education even though she goes into home life the day of her graduation? Obviously for the same reason that every other individual should have one. She is entitled to it that her power to live may be increased. In her physics and chemistry she learns to adjust and to appreciate the beauties of the physical world. Her appreciation heightens as she becomes aware of the order and dependability in all nature. In botany her aesthetic powers respond to the wonderful variety in the world of plants. Her zoology, if properly taught, turns her appreciation to reverance as she contemplates the millions of forms in the life of God which have been necessary before He could reveal Himself in man. In her psychology she meets those marvelous phenomena which differentiate man from the species in the lower kingdom of life. She becomes aware of those capacities and powers which furnish the keys to both the understanding of the laws of nature and to the control of its forces. She becomes aware of her ability to extend her knowledge of the facts of nature, to reason upon these facts, to choose an adjustment which will bring the greatest satisfaction and happiness, and, what is still more important, to order her life accordingly. In astronomy and geology she gets some notion of the ages which have been necessary to bring into existence the great gift of intelligence which she enjoys. Through her study of music and art she responds to the worlds of sound and color in all their varied degrees of refinement. History and literature enable her to meet and live over the rich and beauti-

ful life of those great ones who have gone before. Her character education should help her to master and harmonize the elements in her own nature, thereby making of her a free woman, a woman with vision and control, a woman who appreciates that every right, privilege, and freedom which she enjoys carries with it an unavoidable responsibility to her fellows and to nature.

Ezekiel in his vision of the "River of Life" understood life; he knew what it meant—at first a little stream to the ankles, then, as he went farther on it came to the knees, and then to the loins and finally a wide mighty river. It means a proper and harmonious adjustment to all things about one that are good, beautiful and true.

Second.—The good life should be *intensive.* This is accomplished by developing the power to respond more accurately to the phenomena of nature. The individual who can hear the second, third, and fourth overtones in music gets a satisfaction not experienced by the individual who hears only the original tone. The artist gets more satisfaction from looking at a masterpiece of art than does the average individual because he can make a more perfect response to colors and the organization. The expert gets more joy from his work than the individual who has only a slight introduction to the field. To respond fully to the life of a friend means love which is a very different thing to a mere acquaintance. Thus, in all lines the satisfactions of life—pleasures and joys, are made more intense by a more perfect response to the object of satisfaction.

"The plodding man does not live. He goes out in the morning and hears the birds, the heralds of spring, sweetly singing in the trees. The flowers are blooming in the fields, the whole world is full of music, it is everywhere; but the sweet primrose growing on the bank does not for him contain life and beauty and music—it remains a primrose still." The intensity of life is measured by the accuracy with which we respond to the world about us.

Third.—The good life must have *harmony* within itself. The good life is like a great symphony. It covers many keys and instruments but each must be played in its time and place. The master artist of life runs the entire gauntlet of life but never allows a single

phase of it to be indulged to a point where it becomes a discord in his symphony. This requires a mastery over the elements of his own nature. The harmony cannot be attained and sustained in any other way.

Fourth.—The good life must be *secure*. It is possible to have a life both extensive and intensive and still not be secure. There are many satisfactions which if indulged in will destroy the very unity of the individual. Many of these have been mentioned throughout this chapter.

To be secure life must be in harmony with the constructive principles of one's own nature and also with the constructive principles in all nature. It means giving up many individual selfish satisfactions to enjoy those greater satisfactions which result from a harmony with the fundamental principles of nature. Jesus said: "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

Confucius said: "I like life and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness."

Lao Tze sums up this idea of harmony with the universal, which makes life secure, in the following words: "Do nothing of self will but rather conform to the Infinite will, and everything will be done for you."

Once we have found the good life the only way we can make it secure is to establish it upon lasting principles of honesty, trustworthiness, courage, perseverance and brotherly love.

"He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall keep it unto life eternal." This saying is true in so many phases of life, that it might be said to represent a fundamental principle for finding the larger life. We give up many physical desires for aesthetic and spiritual joys. We give up greed and selfishness for service and altruism. Superstitions and wornout ideas are given up for a fuller knowledge of the truth. The joys of loving service are never experienced until one is prepared to give up the temporary pleasures of selfishness.

The message of the masters on this point is summed up in the

following statement from a writer unknown to the author. He says: "The good life is not putting a man into Heaven but putting Heaven into a man. It is not putting a sinful man into a law abiding community but writing the law of God into his heart and mind. The real question is not what will we do under outward compulsion, but what will we do by inward choice?"

The good life is not so much the change of circumstances as it is that central change in us, that change of the heart, of our motives, of our intentions and our attitudes, that change which will make of us conquerors of our environment instead of slaves to our evil tendencies and outward circumstances. The good life is extensive, it is also intensive. It has harmony within its parts and above everything else it is secure.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

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NEW PROSPECTS IN WORLD POLITICS

The Route to India

THE Twentieth Century is the age of a new displacement of the centers of economic and political gravity of the world. The close of the Middle Ages witnessed such a displacement from the Mediterranean region to northwestern Europe to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This center of gravity is now beginning to shift towards Asia and America. Politics, still continental and European a hundred years ago, are becoming more and more transcontinental and oceanic. Because of this shift those powers whose sphere of operations is limited chiefly to one continent—powers like France, Italy or Japan—are falling off in world importance. The Soviet Union, which, in accordance with the nature of its ideology and organization, is pressing on towards an all embracing trans-continental expansion, is a potential world power. But only the British Empire, which can look back upon a tradition of almost three hundred years, and the United States of North America, which has been experiencing a rapid rise only since 1898 and has today attained a parity with the British Empire, are actual world powers at the present time. The United States forms a vast, self-contained economic area, very rich in the most important resources of the earth—coal, oil, iron, steel, copper, grain and cotton,—which lies in a commanding position on two oceans connected by the Panama Canal. Since the World War it has made itself the creditor of most of the other nations. The British Empire lacks the advantage of being confined to a single

and self-contained area, but its dispersion implies also a ubiquity. It is represented on all of the three great oceans by a single authority which renders it superior to local rivals and has succeeded in transforming one ocean, the Indian, into a British inland sea. The center of gravity of the political and economic expansion of Great Britain lies in the Indian Ocean. The base of this area forms a line, starting in the West at the Cape of Good Hope and ending in the East at Singapore and Perth. All coast lines and all islands of definite importance in the compass of the Indian Ocean belong to Great Britain or to the two maritime states allied with her, Portugal and Holland, whose successor in the Indian Ocean area she has often become. The western coast-line of the Indian Ocean from Cape Town to the Gulf of Aden is for the most part under British influence. Decisively prominent as strategic positions on the African coast are the archipelagos and islands of Sokotra, Seychelles and Mauritius. The Indian Ocean itself falls into two parts—the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal—separated by the Indian peninsula and Ceylon. The shores of the Arabian Sea are almost exclusively British, and the entrances to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—the Straits of Bab el Mandeb and Hormuz—are controlled by Great Britain. The Bay of Bengal is surrounded by English and Dutch dependencies. Here Singapore occupies the decisive position, guarding the passage from the Indian area to the Pacific. Although the number of large streams which flow into the Indian Ocean is but few, yet the area drained into the Indian Ocean —covering more than five million geographical square miles, according to Murray's calculations—is hardly less than the drainage area of the Pacific Ocean. Since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the aim of Great Britain has been to make the Arabian Sea and its two arms extending to the northwest—the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—an English sea. Only during the second half of the past century did this effort extend to the Bay of Bengal also. In the Indian Ocean area Great Britain feels hardly threatened. The only actual dangers are the intrinsic dangers which are being presented by the emancipation struggles of Oriental peoples. The danger of Russia's advance to the shores of the Indian Ocean

still seems to be very remote. Great Britain is mistress of the Red Sea not only because of the control exercised by the Suez Canal and Aden at both ends of it, but especially because of the Sudan, which, through its disposal of the waters of the Nile, has the destiny of Egypt in its hands. Through the construction of Port Sudan and its railway connection with Khartum the Sudan has become independent of Egypt as a channel of supplies. As a result of the World War, the eastern shore of the Red Sea, formerly in the hands of a single power from Akaba to Hodeda, has been divided up among three princes, with whom English influence has the necessary weight, without having to fear more than a purely local inconvenience, not affecting the route to India, from another quarter—perhaps the Italian. The south and west coasts of the Persian Gulf are under a different form of British control. The possession of this body of water, and the controlling position which Cyprus occupies in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, bring even the land and air route to India under the protection of the British fleet. But where it was necessary Great Britain has also known how to bring under her direct influence, beyond harbors and coastal points, the territories necessary to guarantee the land and air route.

In the Nineteenth Century England's supremacy on the sea was due to her abundance of coal and to the fact that she was assured of the necessary coaling stations. In the Twentieth Century petroleum, in its importance for sea and air travel, is beginning to surpass coal. The total oil production of the world has risen from 149,000,000 barrels in 1900 to 385,000,000 in 1913, 765,000,000in 1921 and 1,332,000,000 in 1928. The frenzied increase in petroleum production and demand the world over becomes evident from these figures. Industry, transportation and national defense are becoming dependent, in increasing measure, upon the oil reserves. Today the United States furnishes more than 68 per cent of the world supply. Other countries follow far behind, headed by Venezuela with 8 per cent and the Soviet Union with 6.7 per cent. The possession of petroleum reserves is becoming a definite ground of contention between the two great oceanic powers of the present time, the United States and the British Em-

pire. The route to India, and the control of the Indian area, assume an increasing importance for Great Britain, owing to the fact that the great petroleum reserves of the British Empire are situated in this region. Here, too, English and Dutch interests are working hand in hand. Great as the United States' share is in world production, the American fields threaten, nevertheless, to become exhausted within a reasonable length of time; while Great Britain, having been more successful than the Americans in the acquisition of foreign fields, is exercising considerably greater economy in the handling of her reserves. "The British control the remaining world supply. They are sparing their own reserve while they take part in the draining of the American fields." (Ludwell Denny.) Important oil fields lie in Egypt, Iraq, Persia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sarawak and British India. But American petroleum interests also are beginning to penetrate the region around the Suez Canal, just as English interests have gained a footing in the region around the Panama Canal.

The path of the British Empire from Suez through the Indian area to Singapore is also of decisive importance in reference to two other important world products, tin and India rubber. The most important regions where tin is found are the Malayan states of Indo-China, which are under British protectorates and the Dutch East Indies. Only Bolivia can be compared to them. But of still more decisive significance is the fact that more than 90 per cent of the world's production of rubber comes from British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and Ceylon, while the chief consumer of rubber is the United States of North America, which alone accounts for more than 70 per cent of the world consumption. Thus the control of the Indian area has for the British Empire a decisive significance in world politics. The Suez Canal, which passed 5,545 vessels in 1927, carrying 28,962,048 net tons, ranks in importance today somewhat behind the Panama Canal, which accommodated 6,456 vessels during the fiscal year of 1927-28, carrying 29,458,634 net tons. But the Suez Canal is more a British imperial highway by far than the Panama Canal is an American highway. Of the vessels which passed through the Suez Canal, 3,085, carrying

16,534,445 net tons, almost 60 per cent of the total sum, were flying the British flag. Next in order, and at a considerable distance down the scale, come Dutch vessels, 575 in number, with 3,024,848 net tons. The United States occupies seventh place in number of tons and eighth in number of vessels. In comparison to this, 2,753 American vessels, carrying 13,752,957 net tons, about 40 per cent of the total tonnage, passed through the Panama Canal, followed at no great interval by the British Empire with 1,842 vessels and 8,976,960 net tons.

But to make sure of the Indian area, Great Britain is required to control not only the sea, but also the land routes and bridgeheads and the channels through which raw materials and natural resources are supplied. Here she comes into conflict with the efforts of Oriental peoples towards self-determination and sovereign self-utilization of their countries' wealth. If the British administration is capable of softening this conflict between Occident and Orient, through an intelligent compromise with the efforts towards freedom which the awakening East is making, Great Britain, in welding the Indian area into a connected political and economic unity, will be performing a service to the peoples of the Orient who, in their present segregation, along with the growing complexity and tangled state of affairs, would otherwise contribute to the disorganization of this vast local unit.

The Pacific Area

If the Indian area is unequivocally determined by the unification of British power-alignments, the Pacific area, which has entered later into world history, presents a considerably more complex problem, because of the crossing of British, American, Japanese and Chinese power-alignments. In the course of the last hundred years the powers of western Europe, especially Great Britain, have sought to penetrate the Pacific area from the West. The United States has sought to penetrate it from the East. Great changes have taken place here since 1900. Spain's interest—the most important by far, around 1700—disappeared from the scene. Russia's and Germany's influence declined suddenly and severely a little later.

As a result of this, Japan took the center of the stage. China, which was the only great power of the Far East in the Seventeenth Century and was still capable of a new expansion in the Eighteenth Century (with a broad and permanent gain in position and a strengthening of her influence), has been declining rapidly since 1842; but because of her enormous reserves in man-power she is a potential power-factor of great significance. In spite of her military and diplomatic weakness she plays an important part even today in the population-politics of the Pacific area. For the Pacific area—or, more accurately speaking, for its Asiatic sector (since the destiny of the races which once inhabited and ruled the South Sea Islands seems finally decided)—there arose the problem, especially urgent in the cases of China, Japan and the Philippines, of the state of relations between Orient and Occident—a problem which Karl Haushofer has described as the antithesis of the two possibilities of stimulating penetration and disrupting violence. The Washington conference of 1922 seems to have outlined the former method, that of stimulating penetration and pervasive good-fellowship. The causes of conflict in world politics in the Pacific area lie in the difficulty of formulating an understanding between the Anglo-Saxon and the East-Asiatic races, in the process of which internal oppositions are revealed in each of these racial groups—between Great Britain and the United States, and between China and Japan. The Washington conference and the London naval conference in 1930 point unmistakably to the cooperation of the Anglo-Saxon races in the Pacific area. The tendency towards an enlargement of the field of activity of the East-Asiatic races—the pressure of the Chinese and the Japanese on Australia, Oceania and the west coast of the American continent—threatens, in general, the Anglo-Saxon world. During the year of the Washington conference Japan came closer to China as well. In December she evacuated Shantung and Kiaochow and gave them back to China. Yet Manchuria is today the *point d'appui* of Japanese expansion in northern China and the stage of action for conflicts among the Chinese, the Japanese and the Russians. In Manchuria the Japanese are assimilated by the Chinese, who are better able to resist

the severe continental climate than the Japanese are. The Japanese influx into Manchuria is unimportant as long as many hundreds of thousands of Chinese are immigrating every year into deserted parts of the country. The population of Manchuria has increased during the last twenty years from fifteen to thirty millions, almost exclusively thanks to Chinese immigration. Although military superiority today lies with Japan, the population figures bespeak a future belonging to China.

With the Pacific governments the American and European powers, so far as the Pacific Ocean is concerned, are at a disadvantage because of the great distance of their naval bases. For this reason the British Empire has planned to establish a naval base at Singapore, as America has already done in Hawaii. Singapore controls the route from the Indian Ocean to Hongkong and to Australia, the two centers of British power on the margin of the Pacific area. Hongkong is to be made an airport. The British route across the Pacific to Vancouver and the American route from San Francisco by way of Hawaii must be protected, which is possible only if they have docks within reach for the repair of the fleet. But, from the economic and political viewpoint, the key problem in the control of the Pacific area lies in getting a foothold in China. Great Britain (which still had the lead in this respect in 1914), the United States and Japan are contending for this today. Here again, in its fullest implication, arises the problem of relationships between Orient and Occident. In the competition for China success should fall to that government which displays the broadest understanding in its contacts with the national efforts towards freedom and the modernizing tendencies of the Chinese republic, and advances farthest to meet them. Here the same perspectives are opened as in the Indian area, only that they turn out to be more complicated, owing to the concurrence of three power-groups and the activities of the youth of the entire area. While the principle of organization has already been in operation in the Indian area for a hundred years, the struggle for some such binding and shaping organization in the Pacific area still continues. These facts account for the various pan-Pacific congresses and

institutes which have been trying since 1920 to organize this new political province of the world. They are conscious that here a a new task is presented. The general secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, at the opening of the third conference, at Kyoto, Japan, at the end of October, 1929, said: "Since 1914 a worldwide movement has been in progress—a movement born of a new vision —and we are appealing to a number of new concepts in international relations: the rights of the weak, open diplomacy, self-determination, the intelligence of the masses. The Institute of Pacific Relations has been born of this movement. It now appears above the tide of events as one of the instruments which the new age is producing to satisfy its needs. But the Institute of Pacific Relations is essentially a regional movement. It has come into existence for the sake of the new Pacific area. The conditions under which this local organization is taking form, and the problems of the peoples of this area as they meet the course of events, are unique in modern history. The peoples of this area, who owe a great deal to Europe's practical knowledge and accomplishment, have resolved not to allow themselves to be restricted by the European pattern. History evolves so rapidly that it may be possible for the people of the East to leap from peak to peak of accomplishment, thus attaining at a single bound heights which were attained in the West only by difficult valley paths. And as it is a question for China whether in the future she is to omit the railway period in public transportation and concentrate her attention upon the development of air lines, so are the Pacific peoples feeling their way to the creation of new ways and means for carrying on their affairs together. The relative lack of inherent contrasts and of any consciousness of historical wrongs renders possible in the Pacific area a degree of mutual confidence which offers a safeguard to progress and coöperation. While it is likely that the peoples of the Atlantic area are too well acquainted with one another, the people of the Pacific area are still in the stage of mutual discovery, a process which offers new possibilities for the enrichment and fortification of life in this part of the world." The Orient is awakening to a consciousness of its destiny.

SPIRITUAL EDUCATION

by

H. I. H. ALEXANDER

THE time has come to understand that the education which is given to our children all over the world is wrong, that we are preparing young people for a purely material life, neglecting the most important part of the human being, the spiritual immortal side, which is the soul and its spirit.

We must not be astonished that peoples become restless, that the ugly sides of life are taking the upper hand over the beautiful ones, that immorality is growing and that no value is given to life itself, and finally that such absolutely negative theories of life like bolshevism and communism are gaining the sympathy of the masses.

What could one expect, when people lost the sense of life, when every one's aim is to enrich himself materially, when peoples are spiritually poor, when material wealth is the goal to which all are aspiring?

Existing religions today become spiritless forms, which might help few selfevolved beings but leave the masses untouched; religions are professed by so-called religious people as means to assure themselves against the possible punishments in the future world mingled with fear of death. Intolerance and competition mark the existence of the present religions which instead of working for the world's unity, in fact achieve just the contrary results.

All these sad sides of the present life of the humanity must be eliminated by giving to children all over the world the spiritual education which, in other words, is giving of the possibility to their spirit and soul to evolve in a normal and sane way, so as to form real human beings and not only half civilized animals which we are today. One hardly can understand how it was possible

that such an important part of culture and civilization of the humanity escaped the attention of so-called leaders of the culture, how it was possible for many centuries to raise generations in false mentality, to prepare women and men for a false life, absolutely blind to notions of the real aim and sense of earth's life.

If we want to stop humanity from following the way to total moral ruin, we have to introduce without losing time the spiritual education in all the schools, beginning to prepare teachers of both sexes for that work. It is an easy task, because the elements of the spiritual education are alive in every human being, but we must call them to life and not to bury them under the masses of material notions which are indispensable, but not enlightened by spiritual notions, lead human beings to an utterly false conception of what a human being is, and what is the sense and the aim of life.

In large lines, the spiritual education consists of seven stages: (1) The call of the soul to life; (2) the direction of the soul on to the path of truth or light, (the law of love); (3) self-knowledge and self-understanding; (4) the sense and aim of life; (5) the developments of spiritual powers; (6) the history of the soul and its spirit; and (7) the religion of love, (the sciences of life and the development of the human soul, in other words—how to adapt the law of love to all the sides of the human life: family, social, people's, economical, etc.).

The education will give to human beings the possibility to live using their whole self, they will submit themselves and follow the law of love as a matter of fact, consciously, thanks to that they will be in permanent contact with good powers of the world and with the Supreme Power, because the law of love is the only switch which puts us in contact with these powers, consequently being in tune with the universal harmony, human beings will be immune from the influence of evil powers; work of any kind will be done more quickly, easily and with less weariness, because good powers having access to the spiritual side of the being, will through it restore the lost energy, the so-called death will have no meaning, because life started on the principles of the law of love will be

naturally continued, after the soul leaves the body, since its life will already be on the way of truth, the extremist theories, which by their propaganda of hate, class war and immorality undermine the mentality of the masses, will have no effect on them, peace between races and nations will come as a gradual consequence of the new forms of life which will eliminate the fighting material spirit living at present in us; the real and only true democracy, the spiritual one, will take the place of the present one which is a lifeless aspiration for equality which is existing in the structure of the world; spiritual democracy will take its birth from the deep realization of belonging to one huge spiritual family consisting of the souls of the whole humanity, from the deep understanding of the law of love and from the utter submission to its requirements and from the deep realization of the equal responsibility of all, without any difference of situation or class, before the one Supreme Power, which we call God.

Since thousands of years humanity took the path of the material culture and progress, forgetting that the spiritual side of the human being required also culture and progress. We at present bear the consequences of that fatal error; but we are ever ready to repair this error, because all that is needed for spiritual culture and then progress is still living in every one of us, we have only to wake up to the sad reality of the present human life, which does not answer to the laws on which the world is built, and principally to the law of love, the only one which is the alpha and omega of the human life.

Education is the only way to the development of our intellectual and spiritual capacities, and that is why I so strongly advocate the introduction in the educational system of the spiritual education. If we start it today, in fifty years humanity will be regenerated and the new era of human existence will begin, which will bring it unmistakenly to the reign of the spirit, which was always the dream of the great thinkers of the East and of the West, the reign of spirit which means the domination of the spirit over the matter, and then you can imagine yourself the immense and limitless possibilities which will be open to the human spirit.

THIS PRAYING WORLD

by

JOHN WILLIAM KITCHING
Author of "Azrubaal and Lamorna," etc.

Ceylon

"In right I have no power to live,
Day after day I'm stained with sin;
I read, but do not understand;
I hold Thee not my heart within.
O light, O flame, O first of all,
I wandered far that I might see,
Athihai Virattanam's Lord,
Thy flower-like feet of purity."

"Daily I'm sunk in worldly sin;
Naught know I as I ought to know;
Absorbed in vice as 't were my kin
I see no path in which to go.
O Thou with throat one darkling gem,
Gracious, such grace to me accord,
That I may see Thy beauteous feet,
Athihai Virattanam's Lord."

"My fickle heart one love forsakes,
And forth-with to some other clings;
Swiftly to some one thing it sways,
And e'en as swiftly backward swings.
O Thou with crescent in Thy hair,
Athihai Virattanam's Lord,
Fixed at Thy feet henceforth I lie,
For Thou hast broken my Soul's cord."

"The bond of lust I cannot break;
Desire's fierce torture will not die;
My Soul I cannot stab awake
To scan my flesh with seeing eye.
I bear upon me load of deeds,
Load such as I can ne'er lay down.
Athihai Virattanam's Lord,
Weary of joyless life I've grown."

A prayer from the Tamil Saivite Saints of Southern India and Ceylon between 600 and 800 A.D.

Buddhist China

"With all my heart I dedicate myself
To the life in the Western Paradise under Thee, Amitabha
May Thy pure light enlighten me.
May Thy merciful promises (of his forty-eight sworn pledges)
protect and fortify me.
I have attained the right understanding
And that deep longing to be able to call upon God's name
As it should be done,
And I therefore pray most earnestly:
Let me be born in the pure land.
My prayer is in accord with the precious promises of mercy
Which Thou, Amitabha, hast made:
If there is any creature
Who desires to be born into my kingdom,
And who in glad assurance of faith
Dwells upon my name in tenfold invocation,
Not one of them
Shall be shut out from that great experience.
All shall attain to an understanding of my plans,
Yes, shall attain to God (tê-ju-Ju-lai).
Through these precious promises, as extensive as the sea,
All sinners may be able to gain the absolution of their sins,
All on account of that power

Which proceeds from God's mercy.
The good root in them will grow strong,
And when the close of life draws so near
That they themselves know it plainly,
They without bodily pain or sickness,
Without desire in the heart,
Without a trace of vacillation,
And the deepest assurance of Soul,
They will enter into the great meeting
With God and all the saints.
See, Amitabha himself will come to meet me
With the golden seat in his hand.
In a moment shall I be lifted up upon it—
And thereby be born into paradise.
As a flower that suddenly bursts into bloom,
So is my eye opened,
That I may see God
And understand His perfect law."

This is the famous "Pure Land's Prayer" (Chingt'u Wên), to Amitabha, whose story runs as follows,—

"Now there was a line of eighty one Buddhas, beginning with Dipankara and ending with Lokes-Vararaga. During the period of the latter, a bhikshu, or monk by the name of Dharmakara, formed the pious intention of becoming a Buddha. He went to Lokes-Vararaga, chanted the usual praise of the Buddha, and then proceeded to ask him to become his teacher and to describe to him what a Buddha and a Buddha country ought to be. Lokes-Vararaga gave him the desired information, upon which Dharmahara requested that when he should attain to Buddhahood, all the qualities of the Buddha countries be concentrated in his own. He then went away, but after a long meditation, returned with a series of forty-eight vows, whereby he would undertake to become a Buddha only on condition that he be able to save all beings and to establish a Kingdom of perfect blessedness in which all living creatures might enjoy age-long happiness and wisdom."

(Concluded)

ROUND TABLE

The inadequacy of words to convey ideas is brought home to us in Paul Hinner's use of the word "Communism"—in *The Path of History,* concluded this month—to describe a unified and co-ordinated society now unhappily identified in the public mind with the particular form of economic government developed in Soviet Russia. His insistence upon the spiritual element removes Mr. Hinner from any possible charge of "red menace" even if any reader failed to perceive the essentially intuitive quality of this author's mind.

Mr. Hinner has accomplished a really tremendous task—the creation of an outlook upon social evolution which joins religion to the political and economic process not as dogma or theology but as source of faith and motive energy. By describing the religions in terms of individualism or collectivism (unity, cooperation), he puts his finger on the vital point at issue in the modern world.

The series on *This Praying World* by John William Kitching, likewise concludes in the present issue. Once more, as in the series edited by William Norman Guthrie, one is made to feel the equality of the races from the point of view of inner, heart consciousness and aspiration.

Robert C. Stevenson, now in Geneva on a work made possible by the League of Nations Association, Inc., has presented *The Case for War* with admirable scholarship and precision. It would be difficult to find a stronger *case for peace* than these excerpts from advocates of the war principle. It occurs to one reader at least that the root of military nationalism is an insane perversion of the principle of religion; which brings us back to Hinner's thought, that only a religion essentially cooperative in spirit can supply enough energy to carry humanity onward to a new world order.

Elsewhere in this issue we announce an important symposium on *The Substance of World Cooperation,* edited by T. Swann Hard-

ing, author of this month's leading article. We believe that this series of articles by leading scientists and engineers will be followed by *World Unity* readers with great interest and appreciation.

The suggested "World Unity Discussion Groups," announced last month, are bringing many responses from readers. We will be delighted to assist any reader undertaking a discussion group of this character, but we repeat the statement that a successful discussion group is not only essentially informal but local in spirit. We have no intention of "organizing" a series of such groups, but on the other hand we may be able to contribute useful suggestions. Civilization in France and many other countries has received strong impetus from groups as far different as the salon and the public coffee house. It is for America to assert its own social genius in finding the right equivalent for the salon and the coffee house at this time of crisis, when free discussion is needed both for mental clarity and moral force.

Under the title of "Windows on a World in Revolution," we have brought together in booklet form a number of statements about *World Unity Magazine,* its future plans and its contents during the past five years, which we would like to place in the hands of those seeking such a source of information about the world movement. The kind cooperation of readers in supplying names and addresses is requested. Ordinary advertising and promotion arrangements may apply to ordinary merchandise and services, but the success of an enterprise like *World Unity* depends almost entirely upon the oldest of virtues, the spirit of loyalty and willingness to share some sense of responsibility where matters of general concern are involved.

The issue of October (Vol. XI, No. 1) will be a special number devoted to the Orient. Between America and China many students have found powerful bonds which seem to imply the working of a common destiny in molding the future of civilization. The Oriental number of *World Unity* will make an effort to interpret some of the forces working in the Far East at this time.

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THE SUBSTANCE OF WORLD COOPERATION

The Scientist's Contribution To Social Unity and Peace

A SYMPOSIUM

Edited by

T. SWANN HARDING

RECENT international events, in the opinion of many thoughtful people, have served to give exaggerated and wholly undue importance to the political element in human affairs, at the expense of the scientific factor represented by the new industrial structure. According to this view, a great army of scientists and engineers is actively engaged in creating a substantial basis for international cooperation, the final result of which will be to link together the interests and welfare of the various peoples so closely that wars and revolutions will become impossible.

This process, which we see going on clearly enough in its more public expressions, such as the development of radio and airplane, as yet is appreciated more as a commercial than as a fundamentally social enterprise. The agitation of current thought, in fact, can perhaps be defined as the consequence of the divorce between the political and scientific worlds. Our political policies reflect the conditions of an earlier commercial and trading era, while the achievements of the scientist and the engineer have already established a new set of conditions making those policies not only obsolete but dangerous.

Under these conditions it seems advisable and necessary to call attention to the positive contributions being made, despite so many political and economic difficulties, by the free and unbiassed intelligence of the scientific worker to a civilization capable of

leaving nationalism and class struggle behind. The more these contributions are understood—the more their momentous and eventual triumph is realized—the sooner will our racial emotions adapt themselves to life in an adult, responsible world community.

It is therefore the privilege of *World Unity Magazine* to announce the publication of a symposium, edited by T. Swann Harding, in which a number of well known scientists and engineers will describe the technical achievements most influential in promoting world communication and intercourse, and most effectively freeing humanity from the age-old burden of oppressive physical labor. The purpose of the symposium is to present concrete facts, including reference to possible future technological advance, without reference to any new philosophy of politics or economics that may seem to be involved. The editorial point of view in relation to the limits of the symposium is that the importance of the technical revolution would at this stage only be obscured by attempts to make it serve any particular sociological theory. In the long run, political and economic principles are interpretations of social possibilities, but the interpretation must await some degree of fixation in the epochal trend.

Within another generation, no doubt, the world will be prepared to reap the harvest, in terms of a better social order, sown by the genius of the technicians who have literally re-constructed the environment in which men live and work and learn. Meanwhile, it seems axiomatic that science and invention are gifts to the whole race, and not mere extensions of old materalistic values subject to selfish exploitation.

The symposium will commence in the November, 1932 issue of *World Unity,* and present plans indicate a series of twelve articles.

Among the authors already represented are: *T. Swann Harding,* symposium editor; *Stanley P. Reimann; Maynard Shipley, Michael I. Pupin; Benjamin Ginzburg; Edwin Krieg; L. A. Hawkins; Wm. H. Barton, Jr.; James Theron Rood; C. E. Grunsky;* and *Samuel B. Ely.*

WORLD PROBLEMS

by

M. D. A. R. VON REDLICH

Foreword by His Excellency Antonio S. de Bustamente,
Judge of The Permanent Court of International Justice

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE
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WORLD UNITY DISCUSSION GROUPS

Many people, especially in the United States, feel the need of intellectual stimulus and a more adult approach to the special social problems of this troubled age. They have become uneasily aware of the fact that the possibilities of human intercourse are by no means exhausted by business contacts, golf, bridge, cocktail parties and casual conversation.

Unquestionably, every community, however small, contains matured men and women who crave the reinforcement and fulfillment of a congenial group which, without oppressive formality or the limitations and expense of an organized club, can permit a mutually helpful exchange of opinion on important current events and the general world outlook.

As a basis of common interest, a focal center for group thought, *World Unity Magazine* has a distinct field of usefulness. Its articles mirror the richly varied events and subjects of the day, but aim to set forth true principles without propaganda. It works for deeper understanding and not to influence belief or promote action.

One alert individual in a community at this time can render a very real service to his or her friends and associates by forming such a group and contributing the initial stimulus required to release the latent powers of group discussion and consultation. Each issue of *World Unity* will provide more than enough "starting points" for an interesting evening of free mental exchange.

In making this suggestion, *World Unity* has no thought of attempting to organize any groups of this nature that may develop. The dynamic of the project is that each group remain both informal and free to develop in its own way.

The real point is, whether we are right in assuming that America contains a great number of people who are unsatisfied by the present childish arrangements of human intercourse.

Address correspondence on this subject to Managing Editor, World Unity, 4 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL

To DAVID STARR JORDAN

The name of David Starr Jordan has become associated with faith in the reality of world peace. His contribution to the peace ideal was made at the highest level of human achievement, through the power of a personality uniting scientific intelligence and spiritual aim. In his life and work an age striving to throw off the intolerable burden of organized conflict grew more conscious of its capacity for progress and more determined to attain the goal of cooperation and accord.

In order to give continuance to Dr. Jordan's vision and attitude, never more needed than in this period of confused purpose and ebbing courage, it is proposed by a number of his friends and associates to establish a World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan.

The purpose of this Memorial is to make possible the wider diffusion of Dr. Jordan's important statements on peace and international cooperation by magazine and pamphlet publication, in a form rendering them available to peace workers throughout the world, and to encourage the rise of the peace spirit among the new generation of college students.

It is the privilege of World Unity Magazine to serve as the organ of the David Starr Jordan Memorial, under the auspices of a Committee representing the scholarship of America, Europe and the East.

Friends of David Starr Jordan, and friends of world peace, may assist in the realization of the purpose of the Memorial by contributing toward the modest expenses involved. A contributing membership may be secured for five dollars; a student membership for two dollars; a life membership for ten dollars. Copies of all Memorial publications will be furnished members without charge.

In addition to the publication of David Starr Jordan's most important statements on the subject of peace, the Memorial will offer an annual prize for the best essay on world cooperation submitted by any college undergraduate.

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"It has been very encouraging to see the warm reception which WORLD UNITY has received and to note its constant progress. There was room for a magazine which should devote itself to a non-partisan discussion of the intellectual and moral aspects of world cooperation and international movements, and WORLD UNITY has met this need in a most satisfactory manner."—*John Dewey.*

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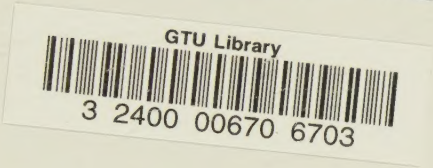
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